1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

FOREWORD

THE following study was made between the years 1931 and 1935, in a series of sojourns with the Papago, totaling some fifteen months. It is to be considered as a sequel to a previous paper on Social Organization (Underhill, 1939) and uses data furnished by many of the same informants.

The study was made principally on the Sells reservation, the largest of three now occupied by the Papago, with a population (1940) of 5,577. At that time the San Xavier reservation had 513 and Gila Bend 127. Also, some visits were made across the Mexican border, where once there was a large Papago population. At present there is scarcely a village there which can be called exclusively Indian. The only one which holds a yearly Papago ceremony (Quitovaca) draws its performers largely from the American side. In Arizona, on the contrary, the Papago are a segregated group, with many ceremonies intact and others vividly remembered. Much regional difference was found, so that even on the Sells reservation ceremonial variations had to be traced through northern, southern, and western Papago.

Each village or group of related villages was found to have its specialist, usually hereditary, for every ceremony. A few of the more conservative objected to revealing their lore, but most finally consented to speak, always through an interpreter from the local group. Informants and interpreters are numbered for purposes of reference, and the number of each appears in parenthesis in the text following any statement for which he is the special authority.

Songs and ceremonial speeches were recorded in text, with interlinear translation. Here, there appears only the free transla-

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tion, made after careful discussion of the archaic words with several informants. At the left of each such item appears a serial number which will indentify it in a future volume of texts.

Some ceremonies, like the rainmaking, are still being widely held. Others, like girl's puberty, have lapsed completely. Notes at the chapter ends give the present status of each but, for consistency, the descriptions are all in the past. This echoes the wording of old ceremonialists who usually preferred to describe the rituals as they flourished at the turn of the century, before reservation days.

A few of the songs and speeches have appeared in a previous volume, *Singing for Power*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1938. They are here reproduced by the kind permission of the University of California Press.

Funds for this study were generously supplied by the Humanities Council of Columbia University. The writer is deeply indebted to Drs. Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict, under whose immediate supervision the work was carried out. The work had the able co-operation of practically the whole teaching staff of the Sells reservation, with much practical help from the superintendent, Mr. T. B. Hall. The true authors of the book, however, are the Papago ceremonialists who painstakingly dictated their rituals in order to make them available for future generations.

RUTH M. UNDERHILL

United States Indian Office
Washington, D.C.
January, 1946

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the Spaniards instituted the office of governor and the Americans continued it. Chona's father was the governor of Mesquite Root (kuitatk), an ancient village now abandoned, and Chona spent her girlhood there under conditions differing very little from those of pre-Spanish days.

The story of her past was her constant preoccupation, and snatches of it were narrated at every apportunity. Most of it was taken through an interpreter, for, though the writer spoke a little Papago and Chona a little Spanish, it seemed desirable that her words should be transcribed exactly. They were not taken in text but in as accurate a translation as the writer, engaged in a study of Papago grammar, could work out. The wording, therefore, expresses Chona's thought as accurately as may be.

The arrangement, however, is the writer's. Chona is ninety years old and her memory works with the fitfulness of age, presenting incidents in repetitious confusion. The only possible system was to write each one separately, add to it all the amendments which occurred to her during the years of our acquaintance, and then to question her patiently about the chronology until the correct order was worked out. She repeated each episode so often, however, that there was finally no question as to their sequence.

But the matter of accuracy in both chronology and wording being settled, there still remain, in presenting an Indian autobiography, important questions of technique. Indian narrative style involves a repetition and a dwelling on unimportant details which confuse the White reader and make it hard for him to follow the story. Motives are never explained and the writer has found even Indians at a loss to interpret them in the older myths. Emotional states are summed up in such colorless phrases as "I liked it," "I did not like it." For one not deeply immersed in the culture, the real significance escapes.

The writer felt most deeply the objections to distorting Chona's narrative. Yet if it had been written down exactly as she herself emitted it, there would have been immense emphasis on matters strange to her but commonplace to Whites and complete omission of some of the most interesting phases in her development. Therefore a pattern was followed. While the essentials of the narratives were retained it is hoped at every point, many of the repetitions were excised and the reader is warned of this fact just as he is warned, in the preface to a grammar, that certain phonetic changes regularly take place.

On the other hand, Chona was not allowed to pass over the crises of her life with a mere word. While she had no objection to expressing her emotional states, she took them for granted. But, on being asked, she would amplify in such vivid phrases as "Fear went through me like a snake."

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SPECIAL SIGNS USED IN TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SONGS

These signs are intended simply as aids to the student in becoming acquainted with the songs. They should be understood as supplementary to the descriptive analysis rather than a part of the musical notation.

+ placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly higher than the indicated pitch. In many instances the tones designated by this and the following sign were "unfocused tones," or were tones the intonation of which varied in the several renditions of the song. The intonation of these tones was not such as to suggest the intentional use of "fractional intervals" by the singer.

− placed above a note shows that the tone was sung slightly lower than the indicated pitch.

(placed above a note shows that the tone was prolonged slightly beyond the indicated time. This and the following sign are used only when the deviation from strict time is less than half the time unit of the song and appears to be unimportant. In many instances the duration of the tones thus marked is variable in the several renditions of the song.

) placed above a note shows that the tone was given slightly less than the indicated time.

⌐¬ placed above a series of notes indicates that these tones constitute a rhythmic unit.

NAMES OF SINGERS AND NUMBERS OF SONGS TRANSCRIBED

Sivariano Garcia	68	Juana Maria	3
Jose Manuel	21	Harry Encinas	2
Mattias Hendricks	20	Mattias Encinas	1
Jose Ascencio	11	Jose Antoin	1
Rafael Mendes	9	Kiyatan	1
Victoria	9	Nuñez	1
Jose Hendricks	8		
Jose Panco	7	Total	167
Leonardo Rios	5		

CHARACTERIZATION OF SINGERS

Sivariano Garcia, who recorded more songs than any other Papago, lives at San Xavier and is the singer with Owl Woman when she treats the sick. He is familiar with all the old tribal songs and has an excellent voice.

Jose Manuel of Sells is a carpenter by trade. He was one of the Papago who volunteered to go with the United States Cavalry on

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Among tribes previously studied a considerable number of songs have been recorded with instrumental accompaniment, the rhythm of which is indicated in the transcription of the song. This was impossible among the Papago as they use no percussion instrument with a loud tone. A limited number of songs were recorded with the accompaniment of a gourd rattle but the phonograph record of the instrument is not clear. It was manifestly impossible to record the pounding on an inverted basket, with which certain classes of songs are accompanied. One song (No. 125) was accompanied with rasping sticks, this being indicated in the transcription.

PHONETICS

CONSONANTS

c is pronounced like ch in *church*.
g as in *get*.
j is pronounced like j in *judge*.
h is pronounced as in *how*.
ḥ represents a gutteral sound as used in Sioux words.
k as in *kin*.
ŋ represents a nasal sound as used in Sioux words.
p as in *pin*.
s as in *same*.
ṡ as in *shall*.
t as in *tin*.
z is pronounced as in *azure*.
th represents a hard sound like dh.

VOWELS

a as in *father*.
e as in *they*.
ĕ as in *met*.
i as in *marine*.
I as in *knit*.
o as in *note*.
u as in *but*.
u as in *rule*.
ü as the German ü.
y as in *yet*.

DIPHTHONGS OR CONNECTED VOWELS

oi pronounced like *oy* in *arroyo*.
ai pronounced like *ai* in *aisle*.
au pronounced like *ow* in *now*.

Two dots above a vowel are used only to indicate that that vowel has a sound separate from the vowel which immediately precedes it.

SONGS CONNECTED WITH LEGENDS

The Papago watch the stars and when they see the Pleiades cross the sky in one night they say that the proper time for story telling has arrived. These nights are the longest of the year, and the Pleiades rise in the east at evening, cross the zenith, and set in the

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
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101 797 of the jesuit missionaries. When a considerable number of them had accepted the teachings of the missionaries they were called, by way of distinction, Papagos, from the Spanish word for pope, "papa". Baptism was involved in their becoming christians, and hair cutting was an incidental result of the influence of the missionaries. Neither of these facts, however, can account for the name. On the other hand, the derivation from "papa" is etymological and consistent with the facts. They had become adherent to the pope. So far as I can learn, this explanation of and origin of the name has never been published.

The resident missionary at Sacaton gave still another derivation of the word Papago. He speaks and preaches in the Indian tongue, and thinks the name is derived from the word "pe-pa-cot", meaning discontented. This could easily be corrupted into Papago. The Indians at an early date became much dissatisfied with the practices and tyranny of the jesuits, and this term was naturally applied to them.

166 The Papagos are a semi-nomadic tribe, their migrations being due to the peculiar character of the country which they inhabit. The exigencies of food, water, and labor are the principal causes of their temporary changes of habitation; but the extent of their migrations, and the localities which they occupy for varying periods, are within certain limitations. When, through the presence of wells or running water, the supply of that indispensable element is unfailing, they migrate in search of food or labor.

[312] When the water supply, which is procured from natural water holes or the earth reservoirs constructed by them, called tanks, where it accumulates during the rainy season, has been consumed, they remove to the vicinity of wells or running water found in the canyons of the mountains or in the deep valleys among the foothills. This migratory feature of their life greatly enhances the difficulty of an exact enumeration of the tribe.

[131] The territory over which they range lies south of the Southern Pacific railroad, in Arizona, and is about 100 by 150 miles in extent. Many thousands are also located in the state of Sonora, Mexico. They move back and forth at will between the two countries, and when a village is found in motion inquiry alone can determine, and then not always with certainty, on which side of the line they really belong.

161 From various publications relating to Arizona, and from the statements of ranchmen, miners, traders, surveyors, and a census enumerator, quite conflicting and divergent estimates were obtained of the number of the Papagos. These estimates range from 3,000 to 7,000, while most of them agree on 5,000 or 6,000 as the real number. One difficulty to be experienced in their enumeration is that at any season of the year a village of permanent houses, evidently the abode of hundreds of Indians, may be found without a single inhabitant, not because it has been deserted, but because the inhabitants are gone temporarily, leaving no information as to where they have gone, for what purpose, or for how long a time, and it would be impracticable to wait until their return or to follow them.

The only available method for obtaining even an approximate estimate of the number of these Indians seemed to be to ascertain, as far as practicable, the number of their villages and the aggregate number of houses contained in them. Multiplying the total number of houses by the average number of inmates per house would give a reasonable result. By actually counting the inmates of many houses in several villages, and with the indorsement of the judgment of the enumerator, 5 was adopted as the average number of inmates per house. As not less than 4 nor more than 11 were found in any given case, it was decided that 5 would be a conservative average and insure a total within the actual number rather than in excess of it.

126 In the accompanying map, showing the route during a 10 days' trip through the Papago country, Pima county is given on a scale of 7.5 inches to the mile. The villages are located from actual visitation or on information, with 161 no effort at mathematical accuracy, but with the design of suggesting relations and distances. The trip was planned so as to reach as many villages as possible during the time allowed and to make a fair and correct census. The villages given in red are those actually visited, 5 of which were located by the Indians. The 2 villages marked with black, situated near the large ranch, were located, but omitted by mistake. The accompanying figures indicate the number of houses in each village. The villages given in black were located through the courtesy of

[115] a trader among the Papagos, who is generally conceded to be the best informed person in Arizona in everything which relates to the tribe. The figures in black indicate his estimate of the population of each village. His estimate of the numbers living in the villages actually visited in enumerating varied only about 25, more or less, from the numbers in the given villages obtained by the multiplication of the number of houses by 5. In the cases mentioned the population was from 350 to 500, and such close agreement gave additional credibility to both his and our estimate.

161 The number of resident Indians at San Xavier was ascertained exactly when the reservation was divided among them in severalty, and is perfectly reliable.

Papagos at San Xavier	363
Papagos on line of expedition:	
467 houses, multiplied by 5	2,335
Additional, estimated by I. D. Smith	2,465
	5,063
Additional, reported by C. W. Crouse, agent at Sacaton (Papagos on the old reservation at Gila Bend)	60
Resident at Sacaton reservation	60
Total	5,123